

Gazette of the United States.

No. XII.

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THE TABLET.—No. XII.

"For when once a man is inured to the service of faction, he will expect to be paid as well for acting for, as for acting against the dictates of his conscience."

It may seem paradoxical to reproach a man for a contentious spirit, while it is acknowledged, that society cannot be held together, without the aid of faction. I will make two remarks, as a solution of this difficulty.—One is, that the chain of providential events is so connected, that opposite evils mitigate or destroy the tendency of each other; while many persons who take an agency in them, may be actuated by the most malignant motives. The other is, that though a certain portion of party spirit is essential, yet it should be subject to some bounds and restrictions; and as there is more probability that it will be carried to excess, than that it will be annihilated, our blaming it as a vice, or describing it as an inconvenience, may be a circumstance that will restrain some of its excesses.

In the natural world, we often denominate phenomena as evil, because their immediate and visible effects are so.—If we could view the whole scene, those parts that are represented as dark and horrid, would be found to contribute to the perfection of the whole. Tempests, tornadoes and earthquakes, are usually ranked among the most formidable natural evils. Such jars and concussions of the elements, however, are calculated to rectify disorders, which, by being let alone, would become more pernicious than their counteracting causes. Those who are within the verge of the disaster suffer an evil, which it was requisite should take place, to render the general blessing more complete.

It is my intention to present to the view of my young friend a character, which may serve as a specimen of one, on whom faction has wrought its full effects.—This will be more likely to make strong impressions, and to put him on his guard against undue exercises of party spirit, than merely to lay the subject before him, in remarks that are general and unapplied. There is a difficulty in accomplishing this task, resulting from the want of a complete original, by which a portrait can be formed. To remedy this defect, I have had an eye to several of the most distinguished party wranglers, that had fallen within my knowledge. By selecting different qualifications from different persons, and combining them into an aggregate, it delineates an image, not materially incomplete. No individual has furnished a sufficient share in the features of this character, to claim the right of naming it. Such a collection of qualities, however, should be personified, and for want of a better name, may be called FACTOTIUS.

It can be of no importance to tell from what parents he descended. His parentage and education were such as entitled him to the notice and esteem of his acquaintance. As his natural abilities rather exceeded mediocrity, and as his acquirements were handsome, his friends hoped that he would have been distinguished in almost any station of life. He had no vices, but what proceeded from a warmth and vivacity of spirit, and which did not indicate a bad heart. There was reason to believe that age and experience would correct the few irregularities he had discovered.

FACTOTIUS entered into public life with a reputation so fair and unblemished, that to say he wore the image of his Maker, would not impudently derogate from the divine attributes. His degeneracy was solely occasioned by the accidental circumstance of his falling into bad hands. As he had taken a residence in a different part of the country from that in which he had been born and educated, he must of course form new connections. A mistake in this respect laid the foundation of his future faults and misfortunes. He unintentionally connected himself with men, who were warmly engaged in party animosities. From a temper naturally unguarded and aspiring, he was inadvertently allured into a chase, the courses of which, his sagacity could neither foresee or elude. Though he had given the most flattering symptoms of a virtuous mind, yet his principles had never been confirmed by experience and habit. There is a critical point of time in the life of a man, from which the character takes its tone. FACTOTIUS was exactly in that period. Had he at that instant formed good connections, he had never become a bad man. His destiny was unfortunate, and he made a fatal pitch. In a very little time, he became a warm and decided partizan in all the disputes of the day. It is incredible how heedlessly he plunged into the depth of party rage and discord. He did not proceed through the regular

gradations from a good to a bad man: his change was almost instantaneous. His happiness at once deserted him, and his ideas of right and wrong suddenly dissipated.—This may happen, without any original ill intention in those who fall a victim to the fury of faction.

Thrown into a situation, where he was often called upon to oppose what is right and encourage what is wrong, FACTOTIUS had some conflict of emotions between former principles, and new temptations.—He was however wrecked with such an incessant ardour of temper and tumult of passions, as to put calm reflection out of his power, and soon became familiarized to the character he had assumed. The love of triumph, the hatred of opposition, and the enchanting hopes of being a distinguished partizan, led him a career that was no less tormenting to himself, than mischievous to society. So soon were all distinctions of virtue and vice broken down and levelled, that his old friends and connections, who did not coincide with his new objects and party views, suffered every thing that could result from violated confidence, or from a vindictive overbearing conduct. His enmities and attachments were all converted to party purposes.

Nor is this all—FACTOTIUS not only lost his rectitude, but his consistency: He became the most capricious, as well as the most abandoned of men.—In some cases, he would applaud and imitate what in others he would avoid and condemn; one while he would reprobate and persecute a character, whom afterwards he would take by the hand and patronize. Actions in no material respect different from what he himself practised, he would ridicule and detest in his antagonists. In short, there is no vice that can be lashed, and no folly that can be laughed at, which he would not represent as praise-worthy and decent in those who adhered to his cause.—On the other hand, the most worthy actions of his opponents were stigmatized with opprobrious epithets.

But all human affairs have their limits—FACTOTIUS could not always run such a race. His enormities were, from the nature of things, restrained to certain bounds: There was no new man for him to deceive, no new absurdity for him to commit.—His fall from the glare and popularity of gilded caprice and iniquity, into a state of infamy and neglect, was so rapid and unprogressive, as to form one of the most extraordinary events of his life. He was instantly forsaken. His name, which for a while was only mentioned with scorn and detestation, was in a few years so generally forgot, as never to be introduced but as a comparison for something extremely odious and destructive. So strong a contrast between his present and former fortune seems to have satisfied all feelings of revenge in his enemies. The natural dictates of humanity strove to silence further reproaches, and to allow his name the privilege of oblivion.

Such a character, and such a situation, a wise man will avoid for his own sake; and a good man, for the sake of other people.

EXTRACT FROM "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

STORY of HONESTUS and CONSTANTIA.

HONESTUS and CONSTANTIA were a happy pair, a virtuous sympathy allied their hearts: the sacred union was cemented, by constant, kind, reciprocal attentions: Constantia was fair and beautiful, as she was good: Her external charms captivated the rich *Corrupus*.—Honestus had embarked in an undertaking that required a loan—*Corrupus* instantly stepped forth, and in the pressing moment, offered him his purse—the artless Honestus gratefully accepted, and most cordially embraced the insidious friend:—But here the traitor missed his aim.

Constantia's virtues bore the stamp of Heaven, and kept pollution at an awful distance.—Raging alternately with disappointment and desire, at length *Corrupus* sullenly withdrew; but still resolved if possible, to gratify his mean revenge, and hellish lust.—The commercial enterprises of Honestus, terminated unfortunately—*Corrupus* saw and seized the flattering occasion, to screen his name, and hide the blackness of his hellish purpose: He artfully transferred the debt due from Honestus, to his petifogging and pander, one of that execrable tribe of canabals in London, who live on human prey: This faithful, callous tormentor, stripped the poor Honestus bare; consigned him to that vile terrestrial hell a gaol, there left him naked on a bed of thorns.—Who can unfold thy complicated woes, ye gloomy tenants of that dark abode! Who can grasp the wide-spread miseries issuing from that cruel source.—Constantia, large was thy portion of the bitter cup. In a dark corner of a naked hovel, exposed to all the rigors of inclement winter,

now behold, the late happy wife of the once affluent Honestus! Poor, cold, comfortless, sick, and forsaken! horror and speechless agony deformed that fair face, where all the graces once where wont to smile! Two infant daughters hanging on her knees, with piercing cries for bread, and their lost father, probing incessantly her wounded soul; close by her side in dumb distress, her hoary sire, fat looking resignation.—In this deplorable, defenceless state—THE VILLAIN'S PRECIOUS HOUR!—the false *Corrupus* enters, affects to curse the unfeeling monster, who could disturb the fair Constantia's peace; and with mock sympathy pretends that he was just informed of her distress, and had hastened with all the impatient ardor of a friend to offer her protection and relief: Still the fat dumb, motionless, transfixed! her eager eyes intent upon her children; with well dissembled grief, he next communicates the cruel fate of his dear friend Honestus; and said he intended to go immediately to him: Here Constantia looked up—and to offer him his services—a gleam of hope appeared once more to rouse her torpid soul, and with a feeble ray returned her eye—a faint suffusion of an hectic hue flushed on her lifeless cheek—She seemed to wish to smile: Rank with desire, the gloating lecher saw returning life, and eagerly approached to seize her hand; by chaste antipathy, she took the alarm; shrunk from the hateful and forbidden touch, and shook with horror; then flared at Heaven, and menaced fierce distraction: Her children screeched in wild affright, not knowing what they feared, and trembling clung for safety to their helpless mother.—The pious father felt the unfeeling wound, but now his palsied arms hung nerveless, a cumbersome useless load; he could no more than weep, and look again to Heaven.—Struck, but not softened at the melting scene, with conscious guilt, the sneaking friend retired.

After a long and awful pause, returning reason seemed again to dawn—the storm that rudely shook Constantia's gentle frame, gradually subsided into a pensive, calm, and settled melancholy; when with the softest voice of melting grief, she thus articulated; still persecuted by that cruel spoiler! I thought I had nothing left! Yes, still Virtue thou art mine! for thee am I once more pursued! if stripped of thee, I should be poor indeed! Lovely Virtue! with thee, and with my dear Honestus, how happy should I deem the humblest lot! thus blest, rich in content, I yet could tread some humble vale in sweet security, and bless all bounteous Heaven, unenvying and unenvied; but doomed to live bereft of either; how bitter even is my scanty bread! The keen reflection stung her to her soul, and choked her utterance.

In a few days, death mercifully closed this dreadful scene, and happily released the poor Constantia: This stroke of mercy, so far relieved the injured, wounded, and world sick Honestus, that he was soon removed from his prison to a mad-house, where in SWEET OBLIVION on his bed of straw, HE DREAMS HIMSELF A KING. Revenge could ask no more—There yet remained, to satiate lust, with an incestuous feast;—mark how the monster deliberately prepares the hellish banquet!

Corrupus took the friendless orphans, and with a more than parent's fondness cherished them; till with the unripe fruit, his rank, salacious, appetite was gorged; then with a cloyed indifference, coldly cast them to the common herd; and e'er they reached their teens, they joined the stale, forlorn patrolers of the Strand, who in nocturnal orgies seek relief, and know no other joys.

Such was the fate, of a worthy, virtuous family, all for no crime, who had they not been Britons, might probably have lived, to have been an ornament to their species, and an honor to their country.

Blush Britons! blush! and boast no more, of SUBJECTS SACRED RIGHTS.

O! 'twas an impious theft, to rob decrepit age of its sole prop! to snatch with sacrilegious hand, the only cordial that remained to qualify the bitter dregs of life!—To strip the virtuous, fond, and faithful wife, of husband, hope, protection, and support!—It was A DAMNING DEED, to pluck the harmless infants from the brooding wings of their fond, fostering parents; to blot fair, white-robed innocence, their only boon, with foul, indelible pollution; then throw the violated victims in the street, there to wander, houseless, helpless, hopeless, hungry, diseased, abandoned, naked, lost!

—Quis talia fando
Temperet a lachrymis?"

This eclipses all the glory, and annihilates the most essential benefits of the British Constitution, by thus involving misfortunes with crimes, and giving the wealthy villain absolute power over the unfortunate, and authorizing him, under the

function of law, to gratify every criminal, and hateful passion: It degrades civilization beneath the most barbarous Hordes.

Rouse, and redress your brethren's wrongs, ye abject, base, degenerate Britons.

The ghosts of murdered thousands, conjure you, to break those hell-forged prison bars, that shut out from the innocent, sweet hope, and mercy;—Unlock the infernal doors that impiously divide whom God hath joined;—and hear, O hear, the Children's cries!—Come forth, ye injured, pallid shades of men! ye, who have lingered out an age of torment! lay bare your cruel wounds, and make your country, and even THURLOW* blush! your tragic stories will unfold, that all the miseries which Prisoners suffer, make but a slender portion of the pungent woes that Prisons breed.

Ye ministers of Hell, who torture Innocence, and sport with ruin! Go liquidate your black accounts with Heaven! There sits ETERNAL JUSTICE, the Balance in his Hand, weighing with equal scales, DEBTOR AND CREDITOR, our NAKED MOTIVES! there, they stand recorded by unerring wisdom! there, the OPPRESSOR meets the AVENGING GOD! there, MELTING MERCY meets its great REWARD! and there, the INJURED ever find REDRESS. E. C.

* The Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, who has uniformly opposed every motion for the relief of distressed debtors.

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

Tuesday's Debate on the Proposition of arranging the Executive Departments.

TUESDAY, MAY 19, 1789.

Mr. BOUDINOT, who opened the business as mentioned in our last, made many observations upon the important subject of finance; and adverted to the present state of the funds, shewing the necessity of appointing an officer, or secretary for that department: After the committee had proceeded so far as to adopt the idea of three departments, agreeably to the resolution introduced by Mr. MADISON, the last clause in the preamble of which, subjected the head of each department to removal at the pleasure of THE PRESIDENT, this occasioned a debate. It was urged in objection to the clause, that it was unconstitutional, for it subjected an officer to lose his appointment without forfeiting it, or having any reason assigned: That giving the power to THE PRESIDENT without controul, rendered nugatory the article providing for impeachments: That it would delegate a dangerous authority to the supreme magistrate, and make him absolute: That it ought to be the same power that displaces from, which appoints to, an office: That no such power was specified in the constitution, on the contrary the powers of The President being therein defined, without designating that proposed, it was presumed, that this power could be lodged with safety only in those hands where the constitution had placed it, viz. THE PRESIDENT by and with the advice of the Senate: It was called a monarchical system, and would enable The President to effect arbitrarily, a change of ministry. Many other observations were made by several gentlemen who spoke on this side of the question. In answer, it was said, that the mode of impeachment for crimes, by the Senate, had special reference to certain officers of government, the Judges: That to suppose it extended to all, indiscriminately, was absurd; this would oblige the Senate to be always sitting; this objection proved too much—as even waiters and inferior officers could not be removed on this principle: The clause it was urged, would create that just responsibility in THE PRESIDENT, and all under him, which never could be found in bodies of men: This responsibility would be mutual; The President would feel responsible for the fidelity of those appointed by him, and they would feel responsible to him, and to the public: This responsibility was of the utmost importance—it was expected by the people; and by centering in one, this accountability for the faithful discharge of the duties of the subordinate departments, of the executive, it was the dictate of reason and experience, that the person thus responsible should have the appointment of the officers, on whose conduct the honor and safety of the government and the reputation of THE PRESIDENT were suspended.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20.

Mr. GOODHUE gave notice, that on Friday next he should move for a committee of the whole House to determine the respective allowances for their public services, to be made The President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives of the United States.

In committee of the whole, Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair, on the subject of the three great departments.

The question on the second article of Mr. MADISON'S resolution respecting a "Secretary of the United States for treasury department" occa-

sioned an interesting debate: In opposition to the idea of giving an individual the absolute direction of the finances, it was observed, that the powers and duties proposed to be annexed to this appointment, were so numerous and complicated, that there was not a man to be found in the United States competent to their discharge: That the danger from corruption and undue influence was greater from one man in so important an office, than if the power was divided equally between a number, who would be mutual checks to each other; that it would be unconstitutional, as it would supercede in a great measure the interference of the Senate, who were appointed a council to advise The President in the execution of the government—for the creation of a financier, with all the pomp and powers of office, would be the establishment of what might be called a ministry;—that experience had taught us, that the appointment of such an officer would not meet the ideas of the people, and no such officer had been created in the individual governments.

These observations were followed by a motion, for an amendment, by striking out "Secretary for the treasury department," and substituting a clause, providing for the appointing a board of commissioners.

On the other side of the subject, it was said, that the superiority of an individual, possessing competent abilities to conduct this department, over a number of commissioners was demonstrated, by the experience of the public; that there was a radical deficiency in the very nature of boards and commissioners productive of perpetual obstructions in their transactions, destructive of harmony, and that decision and dispatch, which are the soul of public business; that this was confirmed by a retrospect of the late Financier's energy and spirit, contrasted with the operation of boards and committees: Under the direction of that man, public business had been conducted upon enlarged principles, and with a simplicity and promptitude, that had saved our finances from destruction, and given a new face to our affairs: Immense savings were made in every department, and order restored where before confusion and distraction prevailed: Under Commissioners, the finances had been in a state of darkness; uncertainty and indecision marked their transactions: We have realized perplexity and delays necessarily attendant on these inefficient systems; the idea of responsibility is weakened by them, till it loses its influence entirely. The question on the amendment was negatived by a large majority.

It was then moved, that a clause should be added, instituting a board of treasury under the superintendence of the financier.

This motion was put and lost.

The question, whether this officer should be removable by The President, passed in the affirmative.

The third article, providing for the establishment of a Secretary of the United States for the war department, removable by The President, was also voted in the affirmative.

Mr. VINING then proposed the addition of a fourth department: The Secretary of the United States for the domestic department: He enforced the proposition by a number of observations, upon the expediency, importance and absolute necessity of such an establishment.

The creation of this department was objected to for the present; as the various objects which it was designed to take up, might come with propriety within the departments already voted; but if another should be found necessary, it could be established at any time.

The committee rose without coming to a vote upon the proposition—when the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, MAY 21.

Resolved, that the House now resume the consideration of the three great departments, when it was moved, that the words "to aid The President in the discharge of his important trust" be struck out, which passed in the affirmative; the word "Executive" was then added after the word subordinate.

Mr. VINING proposed, that the House should then resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the expediency of establishing a fourth department.

The rising of the House to form into a committee upon this proposition was opposed, and after some conversation Mr. VINING consented to suspend his motion.

It was then moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill, or bills, pursuant to the resolution for instituting the three subordinate executive departments.—Voted in the affirmative.

Voted, that this committee consist of eleven—and the ballots being taken, the following gentlemen were elected, viz. Mr. BALDWIN, Mr. MADISON, Mr. FITZSIMONS, Mr. BURKE, Mr. GERRY, Mr. BENSON, Mr. LIVERMORE, Mr. WADSWORTH, Mr. CADWALLADER, Mr. VINING, and Mr. BOUDINOT.

The committee of elections, to whom were referred the several petitions from the citizens of New-Jersey, respecting the election in that State for Representatives in Congress, reported, that a committee should be appointed, with authority

to hear evidence on the subject of those petitions; that a day should be appointed on which this committee should sit for the above purpose; and that the Speaker should be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the Governor of New-Jersey, with a request that he would cause the same to be published in the several newspapers within that State.

The order of the day was then called for to take up the memorial of David Ramsay, respecting the election of WILLIAM SMITH.

On which Mr. VINING moved to postpone the order of the day, and to go into committee for the purpose of determining whether a department for domestic affairs should be established.

The question on this motion being put was lost.

The House then proceeded on the petition of Dr. Ramsay, to examine the vouchers and evidence of the facts alleged by both parties, and having made some progress in this examination—Adjourned.

FRIDAY, MAY 22.

The House this day resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on Dr. Ramsay's petition, respecting Mr. Smith's election.

Mr. LAWRENCE proposed, that the report should be re-committed, and the committee instructed to report a state of facts to the House, that a more competent idea may be formed previous to a decision.

Mr. LIVERMORE objected to a re-commitment; the facts being different, it was probable that quite different sentiments would be formed upon them—He thought that it would be preferable to have the whole state of the evidence laid before the House, and considering themselves in their proper character upon this occasion, that of Judges, they might form an opinion upon the amount of the various facts, in which they might be more unanimous than upon the plan proposed by the motion.

Mr. BOUDINOT was in favour of a re-commitment, as he conceived it of the greatest importance that full justice should be done to the subject, by a very full and complete investigation; it might save future trouble; it would be establishing an important precedent, in which the greatest precision should be attended to.

Mr. THATCHER did not see the propriety of the motion—He observed, that to empower a committee to form a state of facts, on which the House was to found their judgment, would be substituting the committee's opinion, upon a very important subject, instead of that of the House: The House is the only proper tribunal in the present case, and could not with propriety transmit their powers to any other persons. The facts contained in the petition are full and clear; they speak for themselves, and are not to be enlarged or curtailed. Can any new facts be adduced? Can a committee investigate any which the House cannot? From the difficulty attending the statement of these facts, owing to the different opinions of their importance; and as the committee might not bring forward those that some gentlemen might think the most essential, he thought the motion would involve a very tedious delay of the business.

Mr. LAWRENCE observed, that the House is competent to an investigation of facts, either in itself, or by a committee—and so far from a substitution, or the divesting ourselves of a power of judging freely, by the adoption of committees, it is the invariable practice of the House upon almost every occasion—it is done daily—the question is, which is the best mode of bringing facts before us? a committee has obviously the advantage; and when a calm and deliberate investigation has taken place, the result is brought before the House, for their determination, which follows of course and with the greatest propriety. Upon the plan which some men appear solicitous to adopt, we shall not get through the business to day—but the House once in possession of the facts, will be able to judge.

Mr. MADISON was opposed to a re-commitment, as a dilatory measure—wished the committee had reported a decision, for the consideration of the House; and proposed, that a motion which was introduced yesterday, by the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. BENSON) might now be brought forward again, as the most expeditious method of bringing the subject to a close: This proposition was, that the several facts should be read over one by one, and a decision had upon each.

Mr. PAGE objected to a re-commitment—he supposed every member had made up a judgment upon the papers which had been read, and therefore could see no use in adopting the motion.

Mr. BOUDINOT said, that he thought it of great consequence that the House should go into a minute discussion of the subject, in order to have a full entry made upon the journals—that justice could not be done without this investigation—this should be done either by the House or a committee—he felt solicitous that such a record might now be made of the present case, as might apply in all future ones; any ways similar—that as this was the first instance of a disputed election, which had come before the House,

and the subject had been treated with attention and harmony, he wished for the satisfaction of every gentleman who thought with him—that a full and particular statement might be made of the facts adduced, as also of the reasons on which the judgment of the House shall be founded.

Mr. VINING: I cannot conceive, Sir, what new facts can be adduced, that should render a recommitment necessary.—The House is already in possession of those, set forth in the petition, and they are conceded to on the part of Mr. SMITH; from these facts the only question before the House in my opinion is this: Was Mr. SMITH, a citizen at the time of his election, or not? As to establishing a precedent, I do not think it will be of any importance: Every election stands upon its own merits, and therefore the utility of filling the journals, with a long account of this business is not obvious.—A simple entry, that the fact advanced by the petitioner is not supported; and that Mr. SMITH, was eligible to a seat in this House is sufficient.—We are already in possession of a competent idea of every fact that can be adduced, and all that remains to the House to do, is to decide upon them.

Mr. JACKSON observed, that although he had a great regard for the Hon. member, whose election was the subject of discussion—he thought that too much care and attention could not be paid to the subject, and he hoped the House would not be precipitate in its decision: Volumes (he said) would not be too much, to do justice to a point of this importance.—On one side, it is true, there are the feelings of an individual to be considered; and on the other, the interest of three millions of people.—He hoped the subject would be fully discussed. It materially affected the circumstances of the State, he had the honor to represent; and much, very much depended upon the decision of that House. He was in favour of the recommitment.

Mr. CARROLL, Mr. THATCHER, Mr. LIVERMORE and Mr. GERRY, severally made some short remarks.

One gentleman having observed, that a recommitment, and a full and particular statement of facts, might be productive of further communications from Doctor RAMSAY, Mr. SMITH rose to enquire, whether Doctor RAMSAY was to be sent to, to know if he had any reply to make? if that was the case, he should think proper to withdraw his documents.—He then observed, that the business of the eligibility of his election, had been fully discussed in Carolina, and the result was, his being chosen by a large and respectable majority.—That Doctor RAMSAY, although a resident in the same place with himself, had never intimated a design to controvert his election, nor had he ever received the least intimation of it, till his appearance on the floor of the House.

The vote being called for, for the recommitment, it passed in the negative by a large majority.

Mr. SMITH then recited a number of facts, relative to his eligibility, with observations—in proof of these, he read various passages from the laws of the State of South-Carolina.—The first fact mentioned was, that in less than one year after his arrival in his native place, he was elected a Member of the General Assembly, although the law requires three years residency; which plainly proved that he was considered a citizen, though absent: That in nineteen months after, he was elected a Privy Counsellor, though five years residence are requisite; an additional evidence of his citizenship: That the act passed in 1778, referred to by Dr. Ramsay, requiring an oath within a period, which rendered it impossible for him to take it, being then in Europe, could not possibly have any reference to him: That none of his property had been confiscated while he was abroad: That on the contrary, his absence had been sanctioned by a law of the State, allowing their young men to tarry in Europe for a limited time, to complete their education: That he had held property in Carolina during the war which had paid taxes: That no alien could hold an estate: That he had loaned money to that State, to carry on the war: That although the law required naturalization previous to election to any office, yet he had been repeatedly chosen without that previous requisite: That he was admitted to the bar immediately on his arrival, though four years probation were required. He observed, that he could have produced many evidences of his having always considered himself an American during his residence in Europe, had he expected an event of this nature: He would just observe, that he tarried two months in France, during the war, and was introduced as an American to the Ambassadors, Mr. FRANKLIN and Mr. ADAMS: That in 1782 he embarked for America, to share the fate of his country; but being shipwrecked, he was necessitated to defer prosecuting the voyage till October, 1783. Many other particulars were added.

After this, a variety of motions was introduced, and many ingenious observations were made by several members, particularly some on the subject of citizenship, &c. which we have not time to detail.—At about half after three o'clock, the following vote was determined by yeas and nays,

viz. That from the most mature consideration and investigation of facts, it appears to this House, that WILLIAM SMITH, member from South-Carolina, had been seven years an inhabitant of the United States, previous to his election.

This passed in the affirmative.—36 yeas, one nay.

Adjourned till Monday, 11 o'clock.

The REAL STRENGTH of a NATION.

An O D E.

“WHAT constitutes a State?
Not high rais'd battlement, or labour'd mound,
Thick wall or moated gate:
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd:
Not bays, and broad-arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride:
Not flamm'd and spangled courts,
Where low-brow'd baseness waits perfume to pride;
No:—MEN—high minded MEN,
With pow'rs as far above dull beasts endu'd,
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men, who their DUTIES know,
But know their RIGHTS, and knowing, DARE MAINTAIN;
Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
And crush the Tyrant, while they rend the chain.
These constitute a State;
And Sovereign Law, THAT'S STATE'S COLLECTED WILL,
O'er thrones and King's estate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.
Smit by her sacred frown,
Fell DESPOTISM resign'd his iron rod;
And Britain's once-bright crown
Hides his faint rays, and trembles at her nod.
Such is COLUMBIA'S land,
Fairer than e'en Britannia's boasted shore!
Here FREEDOM takes her stand,
And bids Americans be slaves no more!
Since all must life resign,
Thofe sweet rewards, which decorate the brave,
'Tis folly to decline,
And steal inglorious to the silent grave.

NEW-YORK, MAY 23, 1789.

Yesterday the first Act passed by the Congress of the United States, prescribing the form of the oath to be taken by all persons holding offices under the Government of the United States, and of the individual States, and the manner of administering the same, was presented to THE PRESIDENT, for his signature, by a committee of both Houses.

Yesterday his Excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Minister of Spain, gave an elegant entertainment to the Diplomatic Corps, and other Characters of distinction, at his Hotel in Broad Way. Same day arrived in town from Virginia, the Hon. WILLIAM GRAYSON, Senator of the United States.

Extract of a letter from Dr. PRICE, dated Hackney, March 5, 1789.

“A discovery seems to have been made here, since Mr. PITT came into administration, that the United States are of no use to us.—What a pity it is this discovery was not made before the commencement of the late war, and the shocking waste of blood and treasure it occasioned? We have lately been in a state of great confusion here, in consequence of the King's insanity; it is given out that he is now well, and that he will reassume the government in a few days; but should his recovery be a partial recovery, or should he relapse, of which there is great danger, party disputes will run higher than ever among us, and our government may become a scene of tumult and distraction: At the same time, the connections into which we have lately entered with Prussia, Hesse, and the Stadtholder, render it almost impossible for us to avoid being involved in another war, should not peace take place on the continent next summer; and it is indeed to me wonderful, that any persons among us can look to another continental war so soon after the last, without terror—but amidst this darkness, I trust in that Providence which orders every thing for the best, and often makes calamities the most dreadful, the causes of the greatest good.—This observation has been remarkably verified by the consequences of the American war. It was this war that gave rise to that spirit of Liberty, which is now working through Europe, and that will probably gain for France a free constitution: And it was this war that has gained for your country that Independence which I hope will terminate in a Form of Government that will be an example to the world. Mr. Adams has with great ability contributed to this, by proving, with abundant evidence, the necessity of a separation of the judicial, executive, and legislative power—and of a distribution of of the legislative power in particular, between three Independent States—I think it scarcely possible to read his observations on this subject, in answer to Nedham and other writers, without conviction.”

Last Thursday evening was held in the Assembly Room, the half yearly exhibitions in elocution by the young gentlemen in Mr. Campbell's grammar school, in presence of a crowded and very respectable assembly, of ladies and gentlemen; when those young candidates for fame, delivered a few valuable pieces in prose and verse; and a number of which were in Latin, and rendered into that language from the English by the speakers themselves.

With much applause and satisfaction the company beheld the very great progress which the pupils in general have made in the art of delivery; while sundry of them have attained to such proficiency in it as is truly amazing.

EPITOME OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE,

By the Ship Wilton, Capt. M'Evers, from Liverpool.

[Sweden, Feb. 20.] Another revolution has been effected in this Kingdom by its Sovereign: This was done by seizing the principal Nobility, and confining them in the Castle of Frederichoff: The Kingdom by this manœuvre is deprived of one of its principal branches.

[Denmark, Feb. 24.] Great preparations are making for war—and the campaign will open early. Seven or eight ships of the line will be ready to sail as soon as the rivers are clear of ice: Ministry have sent orders to raise 4000 sailors in Norway.

The citizens of Geneva have restored their ancient Constitution, and have demanded of France, Sardinia, and the Canton of Berne, the Guarantee of the Republic.

The triple alliance between Holland, Great-Britain and Prussia, is in great forwardness.—The King of Great-Britain's recovery will be celebrated with great joy at the Orange Palace.

At Constantinople there has been a great insurrection, which lasted three days, occasioned by the ill success of their arms.

[London.] The Imperial Joseph is again mounted on his military hobby horse. Brigades, troops, cannon and warlike stores, are at present marching and countermarching in every quarter of Germany. He declares that he will on no account whatever renew the truces with the Turks, and is now seriously determined that no treaty whatever shall stop his progress till he arrives at Constantinople, which he is determined to level to the ground.

The question now depending between the Court and the Parliament is not on the Regency; but is, Whether the Crown of Ireland be imperial and independent, or united to and inseparable from the Crown of England?

The importation of Bread, Flour, Indian Corn, Live Stock, into Newfoundland, in British bottoms, and navigated according to law, is permitted for seven months, from 30th June next—by an Order of the King and Council, dated March 16.

[Paris.] The population of this city and suburbs for the year 1788, is as follows: 20,708 christenings; 19,959 deaths; 5375 marriages; 5822 foundlings.

[Bruxelles.] The paragraph which asserted that the Brabanters had submitted to the demands made by the Emperor is false: On the contrary they remain firm and inflexible in their resolutions not to comply, though from threats, he may proceed to threats.

The flame of Liberty, which for ages has illuminated the English Hemisphere, will ere long burn as bright in this quarter.

The Nobility of France appear inclined to frustrate the beneficent views of the Monarch in the States Convention.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

[Philadelphia, May 20.] The season for summer goods being now at hand, it is hoped the friends of American manufactures will not forget the excellent brown and white thread and cotton hosiery made here, known by the name of Germantown Stockings. They are cheaper, and much more lasting than those of any nation in Europe.

The laudable example exhibited last year by persons of all circumstances, and in all situations, in wearing the twilled and plain Jeans and Fustians made at the Philadelphia Factory, we trust will be renewed this season. These articles may now be constantly procured at the stores of Messrs. Wood & Thornly, near the Fountain Inn, Chestnut-street, of Messrs. Mendenhall & Cope, in Second street, opposite Christ-Church, and at the factory in Market street. Also cotton sheetings, fancy stripes for waistcoats, coarse linens, &c.

[Hartford, May 18.] Last Thursday the General Election was held in this city, when the votes of the Freemen being returned, it appeared, That His Excellency SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, Esq. was appointed Governor, and the Hon. OLIVER WOLCOTT, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency John Collins is elected Governor, and the Hon. Daniel Owen, Esquire, Deputy Governor, of the State of Rhode Island.

ERRATUM.

In Mr. JACKSON's observations in the Gazette of Saturday last, for "Dry Tax," please to read, Direct Tax.

ARRIVALS.

At the port of New-York.

Wednesday. Schooner Donald, Lilley, Norfolk. 7 days.
Sloop Ranger, Astins, Philadelphia. 8 days.
Sloop Hawk, Harvey, St. Croix. 21 days.
Sloop Industry, Dunn, Philadelphia. 5 days.
Sloop New-York Packet, Tinker, Newburn, N. C.
Thursday. Brig Carolina, Mead, Wilmington, N. C. 8 days.
Brig Two Brothers, Rogers, Port au Prince. 14 days.
Schooner King George, Benison, St. Johns. 10 days.
Sloop Brilliant, Smith, Charleston. 7 days.
Sloop Polly and Debby, Dickinson, Antigua. 21 days.
Sloop Endeavor, Allen, Aux Cays, and Virginia.
Sloop Cato, Crocker, Liverpool. 56 days.
Sloop Providence, Lovett, Charleston. 8 days.
Sloop Charles, White, Norfolk, Virginia. 4 days.
Friday. Schooner Nancy, Randsfoot, Virginia. 5 days.
Schooner Betty, Strange, Virginia. 5 days.
Schooner Nancy, Gore, Virginia. 10 days.
Schooner Defiance, Gillon, Virginia. 5 days.
Sloop Bounty, Robinson, Virginia. 5 days.
Sloop Good Intent, Painter, Antigua. 17 days.
Sloop Delight, Cockran, Curacao. 16 days.
Sloop Phoenix, Bartlett, Wilmington. 8 days.
Sloop Philadelphia Packet, Bailey, Philadelphia. 5 days.

L E T T E R.

The RIGHT GOVERNMENT of a COMMON-WEALTH EXAMINED.

DEAR SIR,

THE English nation, for their improvements in the theory of government, has, at least, more merit with the human race than any other among the moderns. The late most beautiful and liberal speculations of many writers, in various parts of Europe, are manifestly derived from English sources. Americans too ought for ever to acknowledge their obligations to English writers, or rather have as good a right to indulge a pride in the recollection of them as the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. The original plantation of our country was occasioned, her continual growth has been promoted, and her present liberties have been established by these generous theories.—There have been three periods in the history of England, in which the principles of government have been anxiously studied, and very valuable productions published, which at this day, if they are not wholly forgotten in their native country, are perhaps more frequently read abroad than at home.—The first of these periods was that of the Reformation, as early as the writings of Machiavel himself, who is called the great restorer of the true politics. “The Shorter Treatise of Politicke Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings and other civil Governors, with an Exhortation to all true natural Englishmen, compyled by John Ponnet, D. D.” was printed in 1556, and contains all the essential principles of liberty, which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke. This writer is clearly for a mixed government, in three equiponderant branches, as appears by these words, p. 7. “In some countreyes they were content to be governed, and have the laws executed, by one king or judge; in some places by many of the best forte; in some places by people of the lowest forte; and in some places also by the king, nobilitie, and the people all together. And these diverse kyndes of states, or policies, had their distinct names; as where one ruled, a monarchie; where many of the best, aristocratie; and where the multitude, democratic; and where all together, that is a king, the nobilitie, and commons, a mixte state; and which men by long continuance have judged to be the best fort of all: for where that mixte state was exercised, there did the commonwealthe longest continue.”—The second period was the Interregnum, and indeed the whole interval between 1640 and 1660. In the course of those twenty years, not only Ponnet and others were reprinted, but Harrington, Milton, the Vindicia contra Tyrannos, and a multitude of others, came upon the stage.—The third period was the Revolution in 1688, which produced Sidney, Locke, Hoadley, Trenchard Gordon, Plato Redivivus, who is also clear for three equipollent branches in the mixture, and others without number. The discourses of Sidney were indeed written before, but the same causes produced his writings and the Revolution. Americans should make collections of all these speculations, to be preserved as the most precious relics of antiquity, both for curiosity and use. There is one indispensable rule to be observed in the perusal of all of them; and that is, to consider the period in which they were written, the circumstances of the times, and the personal character as well as the political situation of the writer. Such a precaution as this deserves particular attention in examining a work, printed first in the Mercurius Politicus, a periodical paper published in defence of the commonwealth, and reprinted in 1636, by Marchamont Nedham, under the title of “The Excellency of a free State, or the right Constitution of a Commonwealth.” The nation had not only a numerous nobility and clergy at that time diffused, and a vast body of the other gentlemen, as well as of the common people, desirous of the restoration of the exiled royal family; but many writers explicitly espoused the cause of simple monarchy and absolute power: among whom was Hobbes, a man, however unhappy in his temper, or detestable for his principles, equal in genius and learning to any of his contemporaries. Others were employed in ridiculing the doctrine, that laws, and not men, should govern. It was contended, that to say “that laws do or can govern, is to amuse ourselves with a form of speech, as when we say time, or age, or death, does such a thing. That the government is not in the law, but in the person whose will gives a being to that law. That the perfection of monarchy consists in governing by a nobility, weighty enough to keep the people under, yet not tall enough, in any particular person, to measure with the Prince, and by a moderate army, kept up under the notion of guards and garrisons, which may be sufficient to strangle all seditions in the cradle; by councils, not such as are co-ordinate with the Prince, but purely of advice and dispatch, with power only to persuade, not limit the prince’s will.” In such a situation, writers on the side of liberty thought themselves obliged to

consider what was then practicable, not abstractedly what was the best: they felt the necessity of leaving the monarchical and aristocratical orders out of their schemes of government, because all the friends of those orders were their enemies, and of addressing themselves wholly to the democratical party, because they alone were their friends; at least there appears no other hypothesis on which to account for the crude conceptions of Milton and Nedham. The latter, in his preface, discovers his apprehensions and feelings too clearly to be mistaken, in these words: “I believe none will be offended with this following discourse, but those that are enemies to public welfare: let such be offended still; it is not for their sakes that I publish this ensuing treatise; but for your sakes that have been noble patriots, fellow soldiers and sufferers for the liberties and freedoms of your country.” As Mr. Turgot’s idea of a commonwealth, in which all authority is to be collected into one centre, and that centre the nation, is supposed to be precisely the project of Marchamont Nedham, and probably derived from his book, and as “The Excellency of a free State” is a valuable morsel of antiquity, well known in America, where it has many partisans, it may be worth while to examine it, especially as it contains every semblance of argument which can possibly be urged in favour of the system, as it is not only the popular idea of a republic both in France and England, but is generally intended by the words republic, commonwealth and popular state, when used by English writers, even those of the most sense, taste, and learning.

(To be continued.)

* See the political pamphlets of that day, written on the side of monarchy.

NATIONAL MONITOR.—No. V.

“Temporary expedients do but prolong the public distress.”

THE imperfection of human nature is such, that its inherent resources are insufficient to retrieve the misfortunes of life:—The public distresses brought upon America by the late war, have been considered as evils necessarily resulting from the derangement of our Governments, our habits and pursuits—and that time and experience will, in the natural course of events restore us again to tranquility and happiness.—It may be presumed, that this sentiment has had too much influence upon the public mind; for we have been supinely waiting for natural or some other causes, extraneous from our own exertions, to do that for us, which we should have done for ourselves.—The woes of private life are obliterated by the lenient hand of Time; but the evils of a Community, like a flood which deluges a country, must have the speedy united exertions of a People, to form some medium by which they may be carried off.

Time, which affords a sovereign cure for private adds to the weight of public calamities; for while the disease exists, like a contagion, it spreads from one part of the community to the other, with increasing and aggravated force, till it becomes so universal, and acquires such strength, that a new creation is as practicable, as bringing back a debauched, licentious, unprincipled people to the paths of virtue, order and government.

It has often been observed, that the hand of Heaven was as conspicuous, in disposing the People of America to adopt the New System of Government, as it was in supporting and carrying us through the late war.—This illumination of mind plainly indicates, that those principles which had been early imbibed by our ancestors—which had been transmitted from fire to son, and which led us to Empire and Independence, though injured and weakened, had not entirely lost their force—they have broken out in a blaze of lustre highly honorary to our character, leading the States in Union to adopt the only solid expedient commensurate to their exigencies, the New Constitution—the righteous administration of this free Government will prove a catholicon for the diseases of the nation. G.

ABORIGINES OF AMERICA.

THE characteristic features of the Indians of America, are, a very small forehead covered with hair from the extremities to the middle of the eyebrows. They have little black eyes, a thin nose, small and bending towards the upper lip. The countenance broad; the features coarse; the ears large and far from the face; their hair very black, lank and coarse. Their limbs small, but well turned; the body tall, straight, of a copper color, and well proportioned; strong and active, but not fitted for much labor. Their faces smooth and free from beard, owing to a custom among them of pulling it out by the roots. Their countenances, at first view, appear mild and innocent, but upon a critical inspection, they discover something wild, distrustful and sullen. They are dextrous with their bows and arrows; fond of adorning themselves with strings of beads and shells about their necks, and plates in their ears and noses. In summer they go almost naked; but in winter they cover themselves with the skins of beasts taken in hunting, which is their principal employment. They many times torture their prisoners in the most shocking and cruel manner; generally scalp them, and sometimes broil and eat them.

Morse’s Geography.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EAST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

“NEW-YORK, MAY, 23, 1839.”

The ship *Chesapeake*, from Bengal, JOHN O’DONNELL, Esq. owner and commander, arrived in *Amboy*, has brought a valuable cargo consisting of almost every production and manufacture of Asia. He has had a very quick passage, being only four months, including five or six days stay at the islands of *St. Helena* and *Afentia*, from Bengal. By Mr. O’Donnell’s arrival, we are favored with the following intelligence:

The *Chesapeake* was the first American vessel allowed to hoist the colors of the United States in the celebrated river *Ganges*, and to trade there. When Lord Cornwallis the Governor-General, then at a great distance up the country, was applied to by letter from Calcutta, to know in what manner the Americans were to be received, his answer was—On the same footing with the other nations. This answer being probably conformable to his instructions from Great-Britain, evince the friendly disposition of that nation in that quarter, for the American ships pay no more at any of the English settlements of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, which Mr. O’Donnell visited, than other foreigners. It is to be noticed also, that the supreme council of Bengal, have taken off a heavy duty, called governmental customs, which included exports as well as imports: This duty all other nations, except the English, were liable to. This on *Madeira Wine* was so high as 18 rupees the cask—and one rupee, or 25¢. sterl. on all Wines in bottles.

All sorts of European Goods—Wines, Spirits, &c. were selling at the different European settlements in India, considerably under prime cost, in consequence of the markets being overstocked. The best *Madeira wine* would not net twenty pounds sterl. the pipe.

Capt. Kerby, in the *Betsey* from Philadelphia, arrived safe at Bengal, but in a very leaky condition; her cargo of Wine, &c. was unloading. The vessel was to be sold, and not to return.

Capt. Randall, in the *Jay*, was safe arrived at Batavia, from Madras. It was supposed she would winter there, and proceed early next season to China.

Capt. Metcalfe, in the brig *Elleanor*, belonging to New-York, lying in the river *Tigris*, was boarded and plundered by a number of Chinese banditti; but by the spirited conduct of the crew, who brought a gun, loaded with grape, to bear on them, they were repulsed with the loss of some of their gang. The Capt. was up at Canton.

All was profound peace between the country and European powers in India, when Mr. O’Donnell sailed. The hitherto restless and ambitious Tipoo, son of the famous Hyder Ally, and the English, appear heartily sick of war, and are now fully employed in restoring lost credit, and their almost ruined finances, by systems of reform and economy.

The French at Pondicherry were preparing a strong armament to accompany the dethroned Prince of Cochinchina, who lately visited France, and to assist him in the recovery of his legal and hereditary kingdom.

We understand, it is very unsafe for American vessels to go on the coast of Malabar, for fear of the Maharrats fleets, who without distinction capture the ships of all nations with whom they have no treaty.

ONE SPIRIT ANIMATES THE WHOLE.

A late Boston paper contains the following paragraph. The conduct of the President of the United States, says a correspondent, places in so interesting a point of view his truly illustrious character as must endear him more than ever to his grateful and admiring countrymen—his disinterested refusal of all pecuniary emoluments—his mild, conciliating language—his strongly implied opinion in favour of such alterations as shall improve, and not injure the constitution—his truly republican address to the Senate and House of Representatives—all prove him, beyond controversy, the same amiable, honest, and GREAT MAN, the same real and unaffected friend to the PEOPLE, he always has been. In being elevated to the first place in the Union, he does not forget that he is still a citizen: And the manly style, and truly democratic simplicity with which his first official communication is introduced, make us think that we heard the great Fabius addressing the people of Rome, after having saved his country.

“PHILADELPHIA, MAY, 15.”

The Speech of THE PRESIDENT, upon his accession to the government of the United States, deserves to be engraved in letters of gold. Antiquity has handed down to us nothing equal to it. The combination of just and sublime principles, which appear in every part of it, discloses the Christian, the Patriot, and the Legislator, in the highest degrees. Let vice and infidelity now hide their heads. They can never, hereafter, be considered as fashionable parts of a political character in the United States. Our illustrious PRESIDENT, has taught us, from his present elevated station, that to reverence the DEITY, and to practise the duties of Morality, are the highest policy, as well as wisdom of a nation.

To render the present arduous station of our President easy to him, it is the duty of every citizen, to promote peace and order in our country. To be the enemy of the Federal Government now, is to be the enemy of the great and good General WASHINGTON.

Arrived at Baltimore, for the purpose of establishing the printing of cotton and linen cloths and paper hangings, MELLIS COLAY, CHARDON and ORINARD. It is uncertain in what place these gentlemen will fix themselves, but, wherever it shall be, their success is most earnestly to be wished, and amounts to a certainty. They have been regularly bred and employed in that business in the city of Nantz, in France, where the art of calico and paper hanging printing is improved beyond any part of Europe. The importation of printed linens and cottons into the United States is estimated at sixty-five thousand pounds annually, besides which there are very large quantities of paper hangings made.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

BOSTON.

Loan-Office Certificates,	47.
Pierce’s Final Settlements,	47.
Indents,	3 1/2.
Import Orders,	25 1/2.
Specie Orders,	20.

Subscriptions for the “COURIER DE BOSTON,” a new weekly paper, published at Boston in the French Language, are received at No. 9, Maiden Lane. [The utility of a paper in this almost universal language need not be hinted to those, who wish to acquire the French tongue.]

Complete sets from the beginning, of the GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES, may at any time be obtained by those, who chuse to subscribe for that publication, at the Editor’s Office, No. 9, Maiden Lane.

THE PRESIDENT’S HOUSEHOLD.

WHEREAS, all Servants and others, employed to procure provisions, or supplies, for the Household of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, will be furnished with monies for those purposes. Notice is therefore given, That no accounts, for the payment of which the Public might be considered as responsible, are to be opened with any of them.

SAMUEL FRAUNCES, Steward of the Household.

Published by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the OSWEGO-MARKET, NEW-YORK.